PETER MANUEL

From Contradanza to Son: New Perspectives on the Prehistory of Cuban Popular Music

ABSTRACT: While it is often claimed that the Cuban *son* emerged from rural Oriente and "invaded" Havana in the early 20th century, serious Cuban musicologists have clarified that the true consolidation of the genre took place in Havana after around 1910–1920. Examination of 19th-century sources can help us trace with greater specificity the origins of the particular musical features that distinguished the traditional son. Editions and descriptions of 1850s–1860s Havana *contradanzas* illuminate much about urban popular dance music of that milieu. In particular, they reveal the presence of features typically associated with the son, such as melodies in duet format, the presence of *clave* as a structural rhythmic principle, certain distinctive syncopations, short vocal refrains, and a bipartite structure consisting of a "song"-like first section followed by an ostinato-based *montuno*-like second section, sometimes including a vocal refrain. Perusal of early recordings also suggests that the distinctively "anticipated" rhythms of the son existed in Oriente in only a seminal fashion, and evolved on the whole in Havana as the genre matured.

keywords: Cuba, son, contradanza, clave

RESUMEN: Aunque suele decirse que el son cubano originó en las zonas rurales de la provincia anteriormente llamada Oriente, y que luego "invadió" a La Habana a principios del siglo XX, estudiosos musicólogos cubanos han clarificado que la verdadera consolidación del son ocurrió en La Habana entre los años 1910–1920. El estudio de fuentes decimonónicas nos permite entender con más especificidad los orígenes de aquellos elementos distinctivo del son tradicional. Algunas partituras y descripciones de contradanzas habaneras desde las décadas de los 1850–1860 revelan datos importantes acerca de la música bailable de aquella época. En particular, la presencia de rasgos tradicionalmente vinculados con el son como el uso de melodías en estilo de dos voces a dúo, el uso de la clave como patrón estructural, algunas síncopas características, estribillos simples, y una estructura bipartita en la cual la primera parte se asemeja a una canción, y la segunda es como un montuno con ostinato y, a veces, con estribillo cantado. Además, la examinación de grabaciones viejas sugiere que los ritmos precedentes al son existían en Oriente solo en forma seminal, pero que luego fue en La Habana donde evolucionaron a lo que conocemos hoy en día como son.

palabras clave: Cuba, son, contradanza, clave

Latin American Music Review, Volume 30, Number 2, Fall/Winter 2009
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Introduction

The son, in its steadily evolving forms, constituted the predominant dance music genre of Cuba in the 20th century and provided the structural and stylistic backbone of salsa. In the process it became regarded as a quintessential icon of Cuban culture and identity and has been especially celebrated as a heritage of Oriente (eastern Cuba), whence it is traditionally regarded as having emanated. Although a detailed, book-length study has yet to be written, the history of the son since its effective coalescence around 1910–1920 has been covered in numerous publications (e.g., Giro 1995, Loza 1984, Moore 1997, and especially Evora 1997), as documented by commercial recordings, the recollections of elder musicians, and other sources. The prehistory of the son—and its alleged origin in Oriente—is more obscure, rooted as it was in lower-class oral tradition.

Despite the interest in the subject and the attention granted to it, at least in passing, in a great number of studies, extant statements about the son's 19th-century roots have tended to be marked by an inattention to musical detail and a neglect of certain key documents and sources. In this article, building on the work of Cuban musicologists like Natalio Galán, I attempt to reconstruct certain aspects of the son's early evolution, with reference to specific musical features. I further call into question the traditional invocation of rural Oriente as the son's cradle, suggesting that some of the genre's most basic structural features appear to have been absent in Oriente and probably derived from other sources—especially the creole vernacular song genres and salon dances of Havana of the 1850s–1860s. In particular, I present evidence suggesting a seminal role of the urban Cuban contradanza in the prehistory of the son.

Defining son

Cuban writers on the son can be said to have characterized it with varying degrees of specificity. Some scholars have written of the genre as the core of a broader "son complex" that includes Cuban relatives like nengón, kiribá, sucu-sucu, and changüí. Because the son is so rich in extra-musical associations, others, especially Danilo Orozco (1984), have characterized it as a quintessential expression of Cuban identity. While I do not seek to question the validity of these notions, for the purposes of this study I prefer to employ a far more specific and restricted conception of the son, regarding it as a distinctive creole voice-and-accompaniment dance song in duple meter characterized by a finite set of identifiable features. Most relevant for this study is the son in its "classic" period of around 1920–1940, with a further characteristic element, the anticipated bass, becoming standard in the 1950s. Some of the features of the classic son are neither unique to the genre nor present in every form or rendition of a son, but collectively they characterize the genre in its classic form. The distinctive features, which

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are discussed in greater detail further on, may be specified, in no particular order, as follows:

- in the classic period, performance by a sextet or septet typically including guitar, the guitar-like tres, string bass or marimbula (lamellophone), bongó, and perhaps trumpet, cowbell, and clave;
- bipartite formal structure, consisting of a "song"-like, through-composed first section (canto, guía, tema) with verses sung over an extended harmonic progression, followed by a montuno of indefinite length featuring call-and-response singing and perhaps instrumental solos set over a two- or four-bar chordal ostinato (typically alternating tonic and dominant);
- the prominent accompanimental role of an ostinato, typically an arpeggiated pattern (guajeo), traditionally played on tres but subsequently on piano;[1]
- a set of distinctive typical rhythmic patterns, especially based on the tresillo (3–3–2); these often comprise rhythmic anticipation in the guajeo and often the vocal melody, in the form of distinctive sorts of off-beat phrasing in which the melodic line anticipates by an eighth- or quarter-note the chord change of the subsequent beat (usually the first, and often third beat of a four-beat measure); standard from the 1950s is the "anticipated bass" pattern (discussed below) in which the pitch played on beat four anticipates the chord of the following bar; and
- presence of the clave rhythm as an explicit or implicit underlying ostinato.

Other sorts of conventions may also be noted. In the classic period son, as in the contemporary trova styles of bolero and sentimental canción, both the verses and choral refrains (coros, estribillos) were most typically sung by two voices (primo and segundo). The choreography of the son is also distinctive, with couples loosely embracing in ballroom format executing varied figures over a standardized step sequence. The typical ensemble of the son also changed over the decades, while preserving the genre's other distinctive features. The primordial bunga of tres, marímbula, and bongó gave way in the "classic" period to septets with trumpet and string bass; more standard by the 1950s was the conjunto format incorporating conga and two or three trumpets, and replacing the tres with piano. In the 1960s–1970s, especially in the salsa context, timbales, trombones, and/or saxophones were commonly added.

The Emergence of the son: Conventional Views

According to a conventional Cuban view, reiterated in numerous publications, the primitive son, as sung to the accompaniment of the bongó, guitar, and/or tres, was a late-19th-century product of rural Oriente that "invaded"

Havana in the early 1900s (writers variously specify 1909, 1917, or 1920), especially as a result of soldiers in the national army (*Ejercito Permanente*) being deliberately stationed far from their home regions. Hence, soldiers from Havana posted in Oriente became familiar with and fond of that region's son, while the ranks of Havana-based soldiers included musicians from Oriente, some of whom settled in the capital city after completing their service.[2] The first soneros of note in Havana were the Oriente migrants who formed the core of the Sexteto Habanero and the Septeto Nacional (formerly the Sexteto Oriental).

Some Cuban music historians, while accepting the importance of such musicians and their military postings, qualify the Oriente thesis with a set of other considerations. As they note, evidence suggests that the primordial Oriente "proto-son" typically consisted of a simple chorus (estribillo), possibly interspersed informally with verses, with distinctive accompanimental syncopations, such that the proper evolution of the son took place in Havana. Further, they assert that similar genres (such as the sucu-sucu of the Isle of Pines) existed elsewhere in Cuba, flowered at the same time, and contributed directly or indirectly to the urban son's evolution. Thus, for example, while Orozco (1987) insists on the seminal importance of a set of rural Oriente extended musician families, he also posits the relevance of assorted similar rumbitas, sonsitos, and what he calls "proto-sones" and "parasones" that flourished in central Cuba and elsewhere (n.d., 9, 14). Similarly, Giro posits the influence of migrants from diverse parts of Cuba to Havana, noting evidence suggesting the existence of son-like estribillo-based song forms (such as chivo) in Pinar del Río, Matanzas, and elsewhere (1995, 200–201). Moore also points out the relevance of Havana-based antecedent genres such as the ambulatory choral groups called coros de clave and the more percussive coros de guaguancó (1997, 90–93).

Most sources tend to agree that the true coalescence and maturation of the son occurred in Havana (see e.g., Blanco 1992, 8–9, Giro 1999, 200–201). There, in the lower-class, predominantly Afro-Cuban tenements and taverns, the son incorporated elements, on the one hand, from the percussion-and-voice Afro-Cuban rumba and, on the other hand, from the more "song"-oriented, guitar-and-vocal canción and bolero traditions called trova (itself nurtured as much in Oriente as in Havana). The links between rumba and son were overt: many son lyrics invoked rumba (especially with phrases like "Oye mi rumba" [Listen to my rumba]), and some rumbas (such as "Consuélate") were easily adapted into the son repertoire. It is generally assumed that among the elements adopted from rumba were clave and the two-part canto-montuno form. As I shall suggest, however, these elements were already documentable in the Havana contradanza and, by extension, in urban popular song of the 1850s. The question thus arises as to specifically which intrinsic elements (if any) came from Oriente.

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The attribution of the son's early history to Oriente coheres with a more general distinction between the socio-cultural profiles of eastern Cuba and the rest of the island. Central and western Cuba hosted the large sugar plantations established from around 1800, and received the bulk of the massive numbers of enslaved Africans brought to the island in the 19th century. Racial communities there tended to be more polarized than in Oriente, and hence it was in those areas, including Havana, Matanzas, and their environs, that both neo-African musics like santería music as well as neo-Hispanic forms like punto flourished. The topography of Oriente, by contrast, was more conducive to production of tobacco, coffee, and subsistence crops, typically done on a small-scale, family level rather than a slave plantation. Importation of slaves occurred earlier and on a more limited scale (and involved more Congolese than Yorubas), and generations of manumission and miscegenation produced an overwhelmingly mulatto and creole society rather than a racially divided one. Hence, it is argued, the quintessential products of Oriente's artistic culture were distinctively creole, such as trova and, allegedly, the son.

The belief that the son originated in Oriente is further supported, in a different sense, by the continued popularity of traditional son in that region. In Havana, to be sure, traditional son groups can be heard at the Casa de la Trova and at venues catering to tourists wanting to hear Buena Vista-type performances; conversely, young people in urban Oriente, like those in Havana, may be quite contemporary in their musical tastes, enjoying timba, reggaetón, and other forms of modern popular music. However, it is safe to say that traditional son enjoys a resilient base of popularity both in the cities of Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo as well as in the countryside. Further, it coexists with related traditional genres—changüí and, to a lesser extent, kiribá and nengón (other creole folksong forms—using similar tres/bongó/marimbula instrumentation), that have no particular counterparts in present-day central and western Cuba. The natural assumption has been that the traditional son's relative popularity in Oriente derives from its having originated there—an assumption that I will call into question.

Naturally relevant to historicizing and defining the Cuban son is the term "son" itself, whose uses may be ambiguous or misleading. For example, there are varieties of Latin American son—such as the son jalisciense of central Mexico—that are not closely related to the Cuban son. Conversely, many Cubans might refer to a salsa song as a son, in some contexts regarding the former term as obfuscatory. Moreover, the term (from Latin "sonus") has been used since the 16th century in more general senses. First, the word has been commonly employed to connote a "musical sound," especially as played on an instrument; hence, for example, "el son de los tambores" or "the sound of the drums." Second, as Daniel Sheehy documents in his

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thorough historiography of the term in reference to Mexican music (1979), the term could be used in a more specific sense as denoting varieties of secular music, evidently for dancing. Thus, for example, he notes a 1626 Spanish guitar manual quotes a lyric, "Es chacona un son gustoso. . . ." (The chacona [a dance of Mexican origin] is a pleasant son. . . .); a 1674 peninsular manual of Gaspar Sanz also mentions variations (diferencias) on sones, presumably as general terms for instrumental pieces (Sheehy 1979, 21). Sheehy concludes that the transition to "son" as designating a specific music genre seems to have occurred in the Caribbean-Gulf Coast area. Of particular relevance is the first reference to "son" in New Spain (Mexico) as a musical genre, in the form of an official edict of 1766 prohibiting a "lascivious" son called chuchumbé, which was brought to Veracruz in a fleet arriving from Havana (1978, 23–24). Thus, the first extant New World reference to son as a popular dance song is linked to Havana.

Sheehy goes on to document the spread of the term in 19th-century Mexico, especially as designating popular dance songs, often of irreverent and ribald tenor. What is more relevant to the current essay is the use of the term to denote a specific genre of Cuban music. Before 1900, such references are almost entirely wanting. "Son" is mentioned in neither the 1849 nor 1875 editions of Esteban Pichardo's magisterial dictionary of Cuban Spanish nor can it be found in such otherwise musically informative and relevant works as Cirilo Villaverde's 1839/1882 novel *Cecilia Valdés,* Antonio Bachiller y Morales' *Cuba Primitiva* (1883), or Laureano Fuentes Matons's *Las Artes en Santiago de Cuba* (1891), which cites other genres such as bolero and danzón. The term appears once ambiguously in Emilio Bacardí's *Crónicas de Santiago de Cuba* (1893).[3] The absence of clear reference to son in the last two works is conspicuous, as they were chronicles of culture in Oriente during the period when the genre is supposed to have emerged there. The son, however, would have been an entirely oral tradition, and accordingly, these works also fail to cite the rural folk forms changüí, nengón, and kiribá. Musicologist Carlos Borbolla wrote that he knew of no reference to the Cuban son predating 1900 (1975, 153).

Linking the term son to Oriente derives from elder musicians from that region interviewed in their later years who spoke of son, montuno, and/or son montuno as entities (one hesitates to say "genres"[4]) extant in Oriente around the turn of the century in that region. For example, Emiliano Blez Garbey (b. 1879) spoke of Nené Manfugas as playing and singing son during that period, while famed sonero Miguel Matamoros (1894–1971) referred to sones consisting of simple refrains of two or three words in the years around 1905 (in Muguercia 1971, 51–59). Aspects of the uses of these terms remain ambiguous, however. Cuban music literature abounds in references to the "son of Ma Teodora" reproduced in Fuentes Matons's *Las Artes en Santiago de Cuba* of 1893. While the song "Ma Teodora" did in fact

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become a popular son in the 20th century, Fuentes Matons calls it not a son but a canción (and notates it in 6/8). In general, it seems likely, although not indisputable, that the terms son and son montuno were used around 1900 by rural musicians to denote a certain style of simple refrain, perhaps with informal verses inserted and typical tres and bongó accompaniment patterns. A traditional assumption has been that this sort of "proto-son" was a product of rural culture, like a wildflower, rather than being a remnant or simplified adaptation of an urban genre. However, examination of contradanzas of the 1850s–1860s calls this notion into question.

The Cuban Contradanza

The creole contradanza was the most popular and characteristic dance music genre of Cuba in the 19th century. In an era of growing cultural nationalism, it was the music idiom most celebrated as a quintessentially local and creole entity, with its original synthesis of European melody and Afro-Caribbean rhythms. Composed and performed by both whites and people of color, it was also danced by enthusiasts of all racial backgrounds, often in contexts designed for their intermingling. As such, contradanza culture constituted a fluid medium in which musicians, musical elements, and dancers of different social strata mingled and interacted. The contradanza was the most seminal of colonial-era Cuban musics, giving birth directly to the habanera and danzón, and contributing to the development of the salon guajira, the bolero, and—to an important but hitherto unrecognized degree—the son. Moreover, since contradanza composers freely availed themselves of popular tunes and rhythms, surviving contradanza scores, however incomplete, provide uniquely illuminating, if often enigmatic, guides to vernacular music of the colonial era.

The Cuban contradanza is a descendant of the English country dance, which originated as a folk dance in the late 1500s. In the following century the genre spread to France, the Netherlands, and elsewhere in continental Europe, replacing the formal and ceremonious minuet as the favored social dance of the upper and middle classes. In different forms it was cultivated both by nobility at courts and as a favorite diversion of the rising bourgeoisie. The contradance was a collective form, with dancers—whether arrayed in the "longways" form of two lines or smaller sets of two or four couples—executing a series of group figures governed either by convention, a caller, or a pattern set by a lead couple. As a musical idiom, contradances were penned by Mozart, Beethoven, and other luminaries, but the genre thrived more typically as an unpretentious vernacular instrumental idiom. In style and form the European contradance was in some respects unremarkable and standardized, with its typically plain, major-key, diatonic melodies and

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simple harmonies structured in two eight-bar phrases, each of which would be repeated, with the entire A–B (or AABB) structure (lasting under a minute) being reiterated as long as was necessary or desired.

In the 18th century the contradance spread to Cuba, whether from Spain, France, England, or all three. It became particularly popular in Havana, a port city whose inhabitants and visiting sailors were celebrated (or denounced) for their love of dancing. In the years around 1800, the advent of tens of thousands of refugees from the Haitian Revolution further stimulated the contradanza in eastern Cuba, especially Santiago. By that period the contradanza had already assumed a creolized form, as evidenced by the earliest documented Cuban contradanza, "San Pascual Bailón" of 1803, with its prominent use of the syncopated "habanera" (or "tango") rhythm in its B section. In the subsequent decades, the sugar boom provided the economic base for a lively entertainment culture in Havana and other Cuban towns. Contradanza scores were published regularly in newspapers, commercial editions, and ephemeral music journals, and were danced variously in elite ballrooms, at plebian fiestas for people of color, and at bailes de cuna, where slumming white playboys could fraternize with mulatta women. From the 1850s, some contradanzas—including several of Manuel Saumell (1817–1870) and all of those of Ignacio Cervantes (1847–1905)—were intended as light-classical piano works for the salon rather than the ballroom. Most contradanzas, however, were composed and used for dance accompaniment. Though notated for piano, they were played by a variety of ensembles, most characteristically an orquesta típica of one or more clarinets, violins, flute, trombone, contrabass, timbal, and other percussion instruments. (As independent couple dancing gradually replaced collective figure dancing in the mid-century decades, the term "danza" came increasingly, albeit inconsistently, to replace the older term "contradanza.")

The Cuban contradanza, in its heyday of roughly 1820 to 1880, adhered to a fairly standardized musical form and style whose two most essential features are:

- bipartite form, consisting of two sections of 16 bars each, with the whole being repeated indefinitely (as in modern contra dancing); the A section often has an introductory character and could be treated as a *paseo* in which dancers relax and promenade; the B section is often more animated, with creole syncopated rhythms; and
- in 2/4 meter, the use of the "habanera" (or "tango") rhythm (dotted 8th–16th–8th–8th) as a bass or left-hand ostinato, especially in the B section, which often has an accordingly more creole and animated character; also common is the "amphibrach" pattern (16th–8th–16th–8th–8th).[5]

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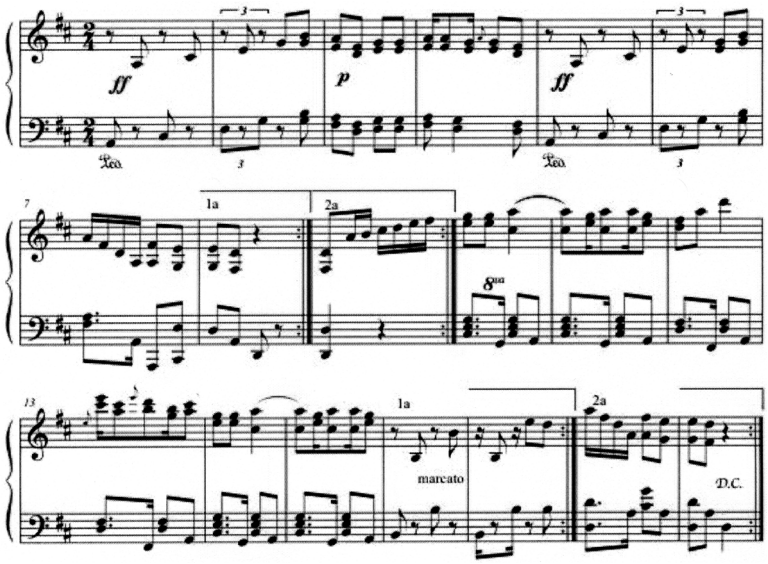
The Contradanza and Popular Music of the 1850s–1860s

Cuban music historians have tended to focus their attention, not entirely without justification, on the most distinguished contradanza/danza composers, especially Saumell and Cervantes, the best of whose works are miniaturist gems comparable in character and even quality to Chopin mazurkas (e.g., Carpentier 1946, González 1980, Mikowsky 1973). Of greater interest for the study of vernacular music are several contradanzas of a more populist orientation, primarily written by mulatto bandleader-composers like José (Lino) Fernández de Coca (1830–?). These pieces, rather than being intended for piano performance in the bourgeois salon, were the popular dance music of their day, enjoyed by all urban social strata, and were thoroughly embedded in a broader world of middle- and lower-class vernacular song and dance styles, some of which were as ephemeral as any modern fads.

Let us look in some detail at a representative contradanza of this nature, "Cambujá," composed and published by Lino Coca, probably in 1857, shown as Example 1.[6] This is in some respects a typical and conventional contradanza, with its simple harmonies, its use of the habanera rhythm in the B section, and its doubled eight-bar A and B sections (in the tradition of the 17th-century English country dance, with the exception that the two sections of European country dances and French contredanses were generally not of contrasting characters). However, various features align it closely with vernacular music of the day and, most significantly, with the son that would emerge into historical daylight some 70 years later.

EXAMPLE 1. *"Cambujá," contradanza by José (Lino) Fernández de Coca, ca. 1857.*

First of all, the reader may note that while the A section has a somewhat introductory nature (consisting essentially of two V–I progressions), the B section has the character of an ostinato, not only in its use of the habanera bass but also in its repeated melodic and harmonic scheme (V–V–I–I–V–V–vi–vi–V–V–I–I–V–V–I–I). Insofar as the vi chord functions as a substitute for the tonic (D major), the B section can also be seen as being based on a four-bar (V–V–I–I) ostinato, repeated with a slightly different, cadential final two bars. As the section as a whole consists of a repeat of this four-bar ostinato, the standard two-fold repetition of the entire B section affords an eight-fold repetition of the ostinato. Further, as discussed below, evidence suggests that it may have been common to repeat the B section over and over instead of alternating it with the A section, such that it would acquire the character of what, in the son and the rumba, would be known as the montuno, that is, the rhythmic, ostinato-based "vamp" section, albeit without the vocal call-and-response present in son and rumba.[7] Similarly, the repetition of the B section would give the entire piece the formal structure later associated with the son—a through-composed initial section (like the canto/tema/guía of the son) followed by an ostinato-based, more rhythmic montuno. As mentioned above, it is sometimes asserted that the Oriente-derived son acquired these features from the Afro-Cuban rumba in the tenements of Havana. Pieces like "Cambujá," however, suggest that the roots of this formal structure are better sought in the 1850s contradanza and ultimately in the English country dance of the 1600s. Although in European contradances the A and B sections did not typically differ markedly in character, the alternation of "promenade" and actively danced sections was well established both in Europe and the Caribbean, where it typically took the form of a paseo segueing to a more creole B section, as in the contradanza. Clearly, by the 1850s this sort of bipartite form had come to be adopted as a well-established creole convention in a variety of vernacular Cuban music genres.

Secondly, also typical of the traditional son (along with bolero and canción styles) is the way the right hand strongly suggests the standard two-voice (primo and segundo) format of singing in thirds and sixths—a format that was preferred to the fuller sound of three-part harmony (see Galán 1973, 362–63).

Thirdly, the observant musically literate reader familiar with Latin music will note that the entire piece, and most overtly the B section, are what from the 20th century would be described as "in clave." As many readers of this journal know, "clave" refers, first, to the idiophonic hardwood sticks used in rumba and son, and second, to the ostinato they play, in either its "two-three" or "three-two" forms (with the rumba clave differing slightly from the son clave). More broadly, clave can be seen as an asymmetrical two-bar rhythmic pattern based on a syncopated, tresillo-based bar (3–3–2, constituting the "three" side) alternating (in either order) with one in even

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note values (the "two" side). A piece of music may be said to be "in clave" if it consistently suggests such a pattern and avoids suggesting the contrary form. Thus the clave sticks and even the audible clave pattern themselves need not be present in order for a piece to be "in clave."

A cursory glance at "Cambujá" reveals that it clearly suggests a "two-three" clave in that its odd-numbered bars are consistently of even-note values, while the melodies of its even-numbered ones display tresillo-type syncopations. The clave rhythm is particularly clear in the B section, where the syncopations occur in m. 12 as a creolized amphibrach (16th–8th–16th–8th–8th) and in mm. 10 and 14 as a *cinquillo* (8th–16th–8th–16th–8th)—a configuration we shall discuss in more detail below.

"Cambujá" and similar contemporary contradanzas illustrate that the concept of clave was known and practiced, at least intuitively, in the Havana contradanza, and presumably in other vernacular genres, by the 1850s, even though contemporary accounts do not mention the clave sticks as being used in contradanza ensembles. The presence of clave in rumba of that period is further documented by the use of the "son clave"—as specified to be rendered by the sticks themselves—in the "Rumba" section of *La Nuit de Tropiques* (1857), an orchestral work written and performed in Cuba by Louisiana-born pianist-composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, whose music provides several insights into contemporary vernacular styles.

While it would be digressive here to present an extended hypothetical prehistory of clave, a few comments may not be irrelevant. One can assume that clave represents a sort of creolization of concepts latent in West African music. The pattern itself can be seen as an adaptation of the 12/8 "standard time-line" that is common in Afro-Cuban musics like palo chants. Removing the third and final strokes of this pattern affords a five-stroke pattern common in, for example, drumming of the Abakuá brotherhood, and which Cuban percussionists recognize as a variant of clave. The son and rumba claves can be seen as further adaptations of this pattern to duple meter rather than 12/8. Further, the notion of clave as a generative rhythmic organization principle can be assumed to derive from a similar role of the timeline in West African song. Hence, for example, the close coherence of rhythmic accents in the melody of a familiar Santería chant like "Ide were were" with those of the five-stroke timeline/"clave." While clave is conspicuously inapplicable to and absent in the Oriente folk genres changüí, nengón, and kiribá, it is basic to Havana-Matanzas rumba, son, and, as contradanzas indicate, creole popular songs of Havana of the 1850s.[8]

A fourth way in which "Cambujá" and similar contradanzas foreshadow the 20th-century son is in the syncopated bass (left-hand) pattern. In most Cuban contradanzas, the distinctive creole character resides in the rhythms, and especially the habanera pattern of the bass. The habanera rhythm in fact occurs in a few different forms, with distinct degrees and forms of

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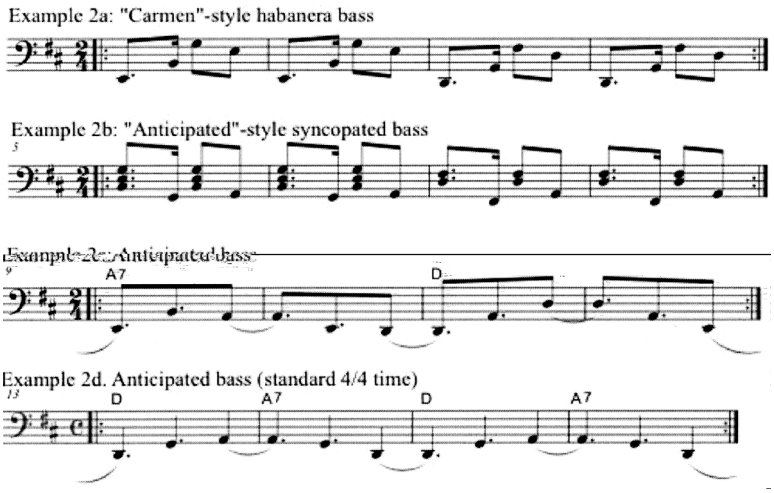
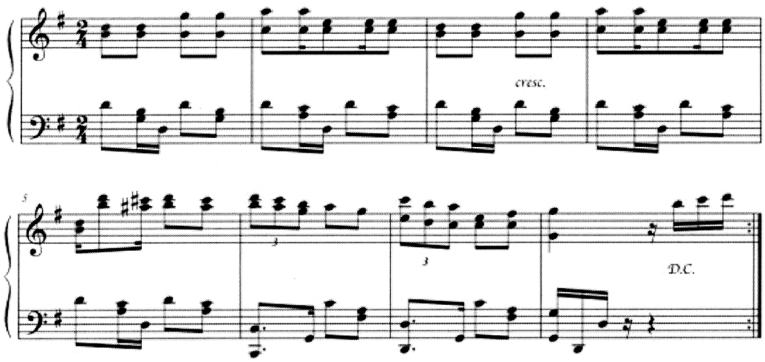
syncopation. Perhaps the most common is what we may call the "Carmen" pattern, shown in Example 2a, with the initial note being the lowest. A different order of syncopation occurs when the second and fourth notes are the lowest, as in Example 2b. This pattern, stressing beats 2–1/2 and 4, is markedly more syncopated and creole. Depending on voicing and accentuation, in its effective de-emphasis of the downbeat it constitutes a remarkable precursor to (or anticipation of) the standard "anticipated bass" pattern of post-1950s son and salsa (shown in Examples 2c–2d), with the distinction that it does not anticipate the harmony in the same fashion. Far from being a late development, this syncopated pattern occurs in "San Pascual Bailón" of 1803 and is used in an even more distinctively creole fashion in 1850s–1860s contradanzas like "Cambujá."

EXAMPLE 2: *Bass patterns in contradanza and popular song.*



"Cambujá," rather than being unique, is in fact typical of a certain subset of contradanzas of the 1850s–1860s. Excluding the contradanzas of Saumell (with their less populist style) and the roughly 10 percent of contradanzas that are in 6/8, I have found scores for around 50 contradanzas of this period; of these, seven or eight exhibit most of the features presented here. Specifically, these include "El Dedo de Landaluze" of Tomás Ruiz (1862), "¡Ave María Gallo!" of Lino Coca (ca. 1857), "Suelta el Peso" of Juan de Dios Alfonso, "Suelta el Cuero" (perhaps by the same author), "La Expedición de Marruecos" (1860, by "P.B.C."), and "La Santa Taé" by Antonio Boza (1852). All of these composers were based in Havana, with the exception of Boza, from Santiago de Cuba.[9] Further archival research would probably yield more pieces of this character.

Some of these pieces merit closer inspection. Similar in style to "Cambujá" is another piece by Lino Coca, "¡Ave María Gallo!" (Example 3), whose vernacular character is also noticed by Mikowsky (1973, 118–19), Evora (1997, 74) and especially Natalio Galán (1973, 362–63). Galán, arguably the most brilliant and erudite of all Cuban music historians, points out how this piece (like "Cambujá") has a montuno-like B section, with ostinato-type harmonies and primo-segundo treble voicings; he does not, however, elaborate the implications of these elements for vernacular music history. The first bars of the B section of "¡Ave María Gallo!" show with particular clarity the alternation of the cinquillo with an unsyncopated bar to produce a clave pattern—in this case, "two-three" clave, with the cinquillo constituting the "three" side.

EXAMPLE 3. *B section of "¡Ave María Gallo!", contradanza by José (Lino) Fernández de Coca, ca. 1857.*

The cinquillo, a rhythm presumably of West African origin, became one of the most basic elements of Caribbean creole music. It figures prominently in several Afro-Caribbean traditional musics, including Santería batá rhythms (toques) played for the orishas (spirits) Obatalá, Ochún, and Olokun, certain Haitian Vodou rhythms (such as banda), Cuban tumba francesa, Martinican bélé, and in the sicá and cuembé styles of Afro-Puerto Rican bomba. Possibly as deriving from Franco-Haitian influence, it went on to play a prominent role in assorted creole Caribbean musics, especially contradance variants. In Haiti and Martinique, where some musicians call it the quintolet, it pervades creole music, including the beguine and the traditional méringue (including songs like "Chouconne," whose melody is better known elsewhere as that of "Yellow Bird"). During the Haitian Revolution in the years around 1800 it presumably accompanied refugees to eastern Cuba, where it soon became commonplace in creole songs. It also figures prominently as a melodic pattern in Trinidadian calypso and

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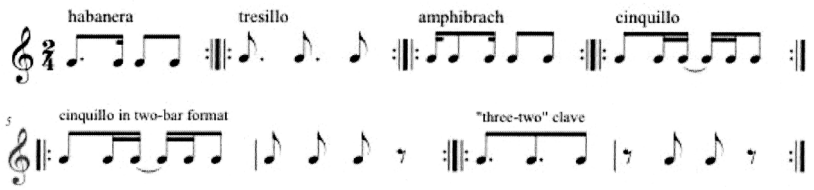
various other genres animated by the colonial-era "French (Caribbean) connection." Surfacing in Havana and Santiago contradanzas of the 1850s, in the 1870s it went on to become a basic rhythm of the danzón and the second section of the Puerto Rican and Dominican danzas. In these genres it was typically presented in the creolized form of a two-bar structure in which the cinquillo alternates (in either order) with a bar of even-note values, as in the pattern 8th–16th–8th–16th–8th–/8th–8th–8th–, cohering with clave (in this case, "three-two"). In "¡Ave María Gallo!", as noted, the pattern appears in "two-three" clave form. "Suelta el Cuero" and "Suelta el Peso" exhibit all the same features: ostinato-based, montuno-like B section, primo-segundo voicing, the syncopated habanera bass pattern (of Example 2b above), and creole two-bar cinquillo in "two-three" clave. "La Expedición de Marruecos" is also similar, except that its right-hand/melodic ostinato is based on the habanera pattern rather than the cinquillo.

EXAMPLE 4. *Creole Cuban and Caribbean rhythms; correspondence of two-bar cinquillo with clave.*



Also worthy of attention here is Example 5, "La Santa Taé" (1852), by Antonio Boza, which is one of the few Santiago contradanzas of this period that I have been able to locate. The composer was a popular mulatto bandleader of his day. The piece resembles the others discussed, except that the two-bar creole cinquillo pattern occurs in the bass/left-hand rather than the melody or right hand. (The piece is presented in Sanjurjo [1986, 204], but with several evident careless notational errors, requiring the author to renotate it here with judicious emendation and a few educated guesses.) Sanjurjo states that the piece enjoyed much popularity in the early 1850s, being taken from a song of black and mulatto French creoles of the area.

The prominence of the cinquillo in these pieces merits critical reexamination of a certain conventional belief established by novelist and music historian Alejo Carpentier in his generally magisterial work *La música en Cuba* (1946). Carpentier opines that the cinquillo pervaded the contradanzas and popular songs of Santiago; in contrast, he argues, the rhythm was conspicuously absent in the dance music of Havana and did not surface there until the advent of the danzón in the late 1870s (Carpentier 1946, 132).

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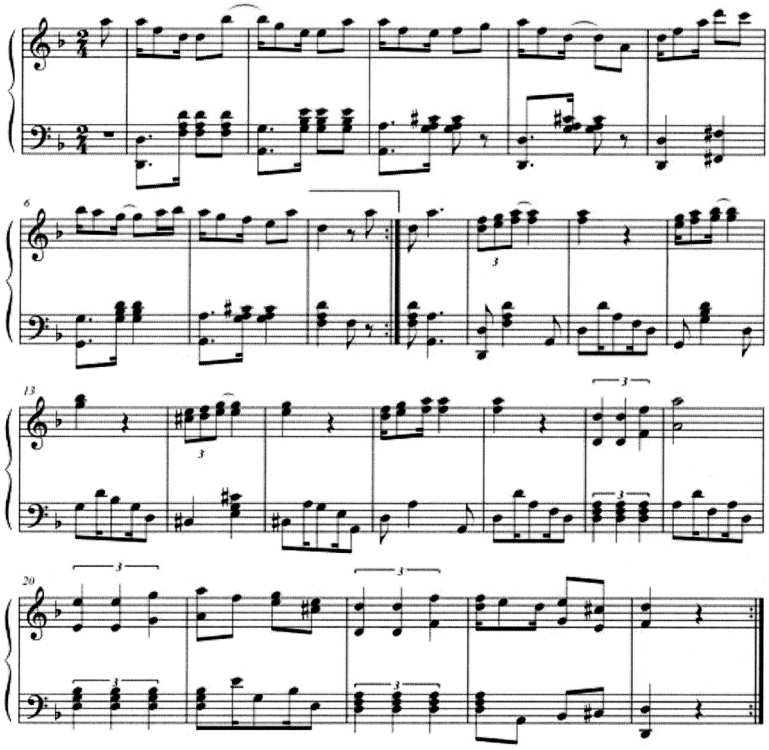
EXAMPLE 5. *"La Santa Taé," contradanza by Antonio Boza (1852).*

Examination of surviving contradanza scores (of which there are relatively few from Santiago) illustrates the untenability of these assertions. As I discuss elsewhere (Manuel 2009, 73–77), aside from "La Santa Taé," the Santiago contradanzas I have encountered do not display any particular penchant for the cinquillo;[10] moreover, they do not differ dramatically in style from their Havana counterparts. More importantly, the cinquillo cannot be said to have been absent in Havana. Carpentier was correct to note its absence in notated scores by Saumell and most composers (perhaps because they felt that its combination with the habanera pattern afforded a jumbled sound). However, examples like "¡Ave María Gallo!" cited here show that the cinquillo was in fact a familiar feature of Havana contradanzas from the 1850s. (It may also have been used in percussion accompaniment parts not notated in the piano score.) Most important is that not only were the cinquillos present, but they were used in the creole two-bar clave context, illustrating how the concept of clave was well established in urban popular music from the 1850s.

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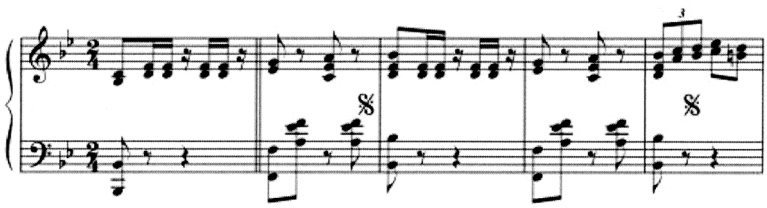
A final piece worthy of mention for its formal features is the 1862 "El Dedo de Landaluze," by Tomás Ruiz (1834–1889). Aside from the cinquillo-based clave pattern, of interest here, observed by Galán, is the signa in the score specifically, if enigmatically, indicating that the two-bar ostinato (shown as Example 6), repeated once, could itself be repeated (once? indefinitely?), with its simple tonic-dominant harmonies thus being suitable for treatment as a montuno (Galán 1983, 166–69). Galán suggests that such ostinato sections might in fact be repeated indefinitely, treated as vamps over which a featured instrumentalist might improvise:

> The two-part form of the contradanza became a theme and variations in the *cedazo* which constituted the final figure. The Cuban danza, in order to fill the time, could be prolonged in accordance with the imagination of the musicians, reaching thirty-six or more bars. (1983, 150)

It is this sort of evidence that suggests that the B section of pieces like "Cambujá" and "Ave María Gallo" might have been repeated indefinitely, affording them a canto-montuno formal structure like that of the son and rumba.

EXAMPLE 6. *"El Dedo de Landaluze," by Tomás Ruiz (1862): ostinato section.*

The Contradanza and Popular Vocal Song

While this essay points out correspondences between the 20th-century son and mid-19th-century contradanzas, an obvious distinction between the two genres lies in the fact that the son is a vocal song while the contradanza is primarily an instrumental piece. However, leaving aside the "habanera" itself,[11] many contradanzas were constituent parts of the vernacular popular song milieu, and as with the 18th-century French contredanse, many popular songs either started out or ended up as contradanza melodies.

Several references from the 19th century attest to the frequency and liberty with which contradanza composers and bandleaders availed themselves of diverse contemporary melodies, including vernacular song. Contradanza arrangers omnivorously borrowed tunes not only from European

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favorites, especially opera airs, but also from the assorted songs that came in and out of vogue in local popular culture. As Pichardo wrote in his 1849 dictionary entry on danza,

> Its music sometimes consists of pleasant fragments from operas, or from popular songs [*cantos vulgares*], with a distinctive bouncy bass all its own, especially in the second section, ever changing, ever sweet, merry, or sad, sentimental or romantic, whose measured tones [*sones,* pl. of *son*] mark the imperturbable dance-steps [*escobilleo*] of the sons of this area. (Pichardo 1849, 89)

Thus, for example, we have mentioned above how Boza's "La Santa Taé" is said to have derived from an Afro-French creole song. Bacardí (1893, 473) cites another danza, "Su mama abajo," as originating in the same milieu. Another chronicler of 1858 observed that musicians composed danzas using "common ditties, and even street-vendor calls [pregones] and songs of negros" (in García de Arboleya 1858, 263–64). Galán (1983, 254–56) documents how a song, "La ley brava," after circulating as an anonymous ditty with picaresque lyrics in the 1830s, was adapted to contradanza format around 1840. It is of course possible that some of the other songs presented here, such as "Cambujá," may have also originated as popular tunes.

Perhaps more significant than the incorporation of popular tunes into contradanzas is the way in which contradanzas themselves appear to have served as sources for popular songs. Contemporary accounts indicate how a catchy contradanza melody (presumably in its B section) could inspire dancers and others to spontaneously create a simple vocal refrain, which would be shouted out and subsequently take on a life of its own. This process is described in *The Pearl of the Antilles* (1873), an illuminating account by English painter and travel chronicler Walter Goodman of his stay in Santiago in the 1860s.[12] Goodman writes:

> The 'Danza Criolla' is the patriotic music of Cuba, and every fresh carnival gives birth to a new set of these 'danzas.' When the air happens to be unusually 'pegajoza,' or catching, a brief song is improvised, and the words of this song chime so well with the music which suggests them, as to form a sort of verbal counterpart of the melody. . . .
>
> Fragments of these effusions occasionally degenerate into street sayings, which are in everybody's mouth till the next carnival. The following ditty, attached to a favourite Cuban danza, called 'La Chupadera,' meets with many admirers. . . . (1873, 121–22)

Bacardí, in his 1893 *Crónicas de Santiago de Cuba,* mentions "La chupadera" as a popular danza of the 1860s and notates the melody (1972, 412, 474).

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In another passage, Goodman comments on how an "everlasting" contradanza of bandleader Lino Boza (brother of Antonio) generates a popular refrain at a masked, whites-only ball at the Sociedad Filarmónica in Santiago:

> The orchestra is playing one of Lino Boza's last danzas. Lino Boza is, as I have already stated, a negro composer and clarionet player of great renown in Cuba, and this particular danza is one of the "pegajosa" or "irresistible" kind. You have heard it played all over the town to-day, and tomorrow you will hear it sung with a couple of doggerel rhymes in creole Spanish, which fit into the music so well as to 'appear to be the echoes of the *melody*'. (1873, 139)

Goodman also relates how songs of this type would be performed with humble guitar-based ensembles (which also include the marímbula, derived from mbira- or sansa-type metallophones, used in Cuba as a bass instrument):

> Songs similar to those quoted are usually delivered by negroes and mulattoes at their tertulias or evening gatherings, where, seated on leather-bottomed chairs, or squatting at the portals of their doors, they entertain their black and brown divinities. One of the party accompanies himself upon a guitar, or a primitive instrument formed out of a square box upon which are arranged slips of flexible iron of different lengths and tones. Another has a strangely-fashioned harp, made from a bent bamboo, to which a solitary string is attached. (1873, 124)

In his celebrated historical novel *Cecilia Valdés* of 1839 (revised and expanded in 1882), Cirilo Villaverde describes the same process of generating refrains from a contradanza in Havana, referring to what was evidently an actual piece, "Caramelo Vendo" (I sell caramel):

> That piece [the contradanza "Caramelo vendo"] enjoyed the good fortune of being the most notable of its type and period, because after resounding in dances and fairs [*ferias*] for the rest of the year and the winter of the next, it went on to become the most popular song [*canto*] of all classes of society. . . . The clarinet spoke clearly with its silvery notes, 'caramelo vendo, vendo caramelo,' while the violins and contrabass repeated this in their own tones, and the timbales added a boisterous chorus to the melancholy voice of the sweet-vendor. (Villaverde 1991, 118)[13]

Clearly, contradanzas inspired vocal refrains in Havana just as they did in Santiago.

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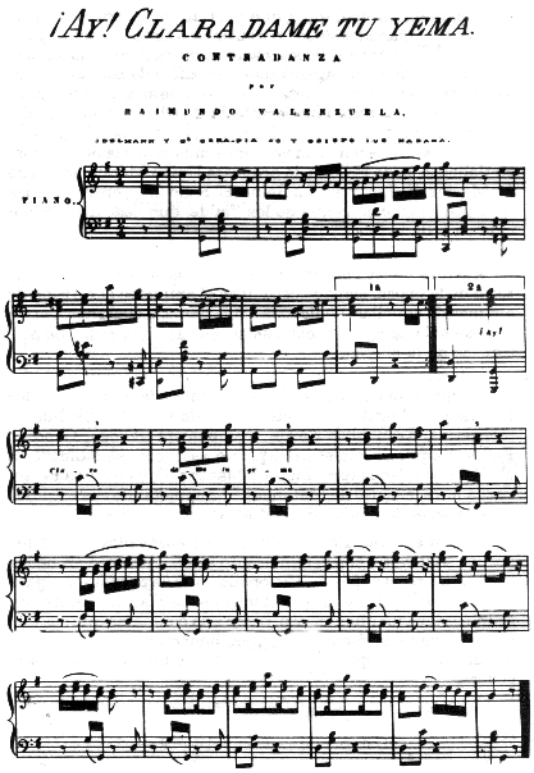
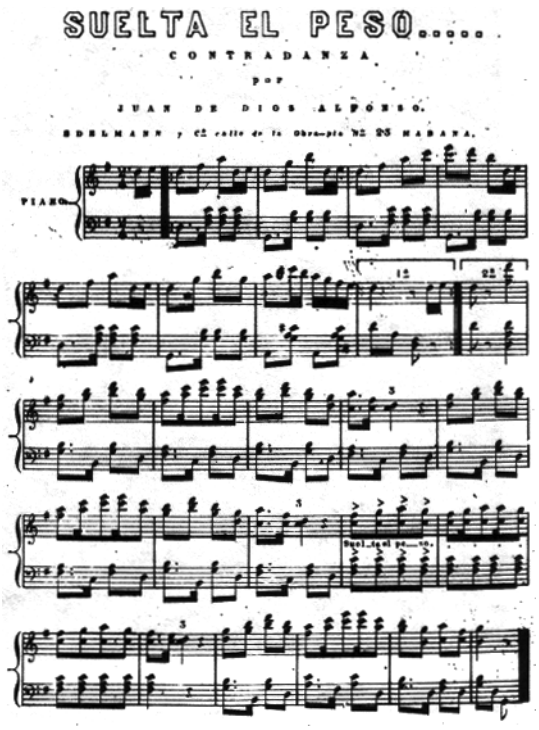
Of special interest are the handful of contradanza notations that indicate short vocal phrases to be sung in their B sections. Typical of such pieces are "¡Ay! Clara dame tu yema" (Clara, give me your yolk, ca. 1870) by Raimundo Valenzuela, and the aforementioned "Suelta el peso" (Hand over the cash), probably of the 1850s. The original notations of these pieces are shown as Examples 7 and 8, as reproduced in León (1984, 263) and Lapique (1979, 183). Although difficult to read, the originals give some indication of the role of the vocal lines, which consist of the title phrases. The small font size with which the lyrics are printed indicates that these pieces are not "songs" per se but instrumental danzas with optional suggested refrains, consisting, like the ditties described by Goodman, of short, simple, almost nonsensical phrases. "Suelta el peso" is by Havana-based Afro-Cuban clarinetist and bandleader Juan de Dios Alfonso (d. 1877). Note how its B section is in two-three clave, alternating even-note value bars with syncopated ones, often using cinquillos.[14]

EXAMPLE 7. *"¡Ay! Clara dame tu yema" (ca. 1870), danza by Raimundo Valenzuela.*

EXAMPLE 8. *"Suelta el Peso," contradanza by Juan de Dios Alfonso.*

There are two possible interpretations of such vocal indications. One is that the contradanzas were adaptations of pre-existing vocal refrains, and especially Afro-Cuban ones, which the composer acknowledged by indicating them accordingly in the score. The alternative is that at least some of them were original creations of the composer who, knowing the predilection of listeners to sing along with danzas, provided these phrases as suggestions that might even by shouted out by the instrumentalists to get the crowd going. As Goodman and Villaverde suggest, these ditties might then circulate independently of the contradanza ballroom—in Santiago as songs accompanied by guitar, marimbula, and percussion. In either case, if a short verse were added to the A section of "Suelta el peso" and a lead vocalist were to sing "responses" (or soneos) to the indicated "calls" shouted by the others, the result would be essentially identical to a typical son of the 1920s, and there would be little need to seek the origins of the son in Oriente at all.

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Re-examining the son's Formal Elements

Examination of 19th-century sources problematizes the conception of the early-20th-century son as a genre which, after gestating in the hills of Oriente, "invaded" Havana and revolutionized Cuban popular music. Rather, evidence suggests that most of the distinctive structural features of the son were well established in the vernacular music of Havana (and possibly Santiago) by the 1850s. Further, we may be able to postulate with greater specificity first, the particular original contributions of Oriente and its musicians, and second, the particular formal innovations and syntheses that took place in Havana.

As we have suggested, the son's formal structure—an initial verse section followed by a responsorial, ostinato-based montuno—may have derived on an immediate level from the voice-and-percussion rumba that flourished in the same Afro-Cuban tenements in which the primitive son was cultivated. However, the contradanzas discussed above illustrate that the practice of segueing from an initial through-composed section to a more creole, indefinitely extendable, montuno-type section may have been well established in contradanzas and presumably popular songs of Havana (and possibly Santiago) by the 1850s. While the responsorial montuno can be seen as neo-African, its coupling with a "song"-like first section is perhaps better seen as a creolization of the bipartite structure of the English country dance, with the innovation that the two parts are given contrasting characters, in Cuba becoming paseo and montuno, respectively. One might also hypothesize, however blasphemously, that even the rumba's canto-montuno form might have derived from the same tradition. While rumba is justifiably regarded as an Afro-Cuban genre, it should be kept in mind that some of its features are clearly of European derivation, including its language, the overwhelmingly tonal nature of guaguancó and yambú melodies, and the occasional use of the décima form.[15]

Similarly, while the rumba may have been the direct source of the clave pattern and structure as well as the clave sticks that became basic to the son, clave as a two-bar entity—although perhaps adapted from Afro-Cuban genres like rumba—was clearly a familiar feature of Havana popular song in the 1850s, as documented by contradanzas like "Cambujá." (The clave rhythm, of course, is also overt in the danzón popular from around 1880, even if the sticks themselves were not typically used.) Further, it is worth reiterating that clave is not characteristic of traditional music in Oriente. Boza's "La Santa Taé" suggests that the clave form would have been known in Santiago in the 1850s, but clave does not serve as a recurring and regulating pattern in other Oriente folk forms like changüí and nengón, which, as Lapidus observes, are essentially "one-bar" patterns (2008, 95–100). Instead, although not entirely absent in traditional music from Oriente, clave

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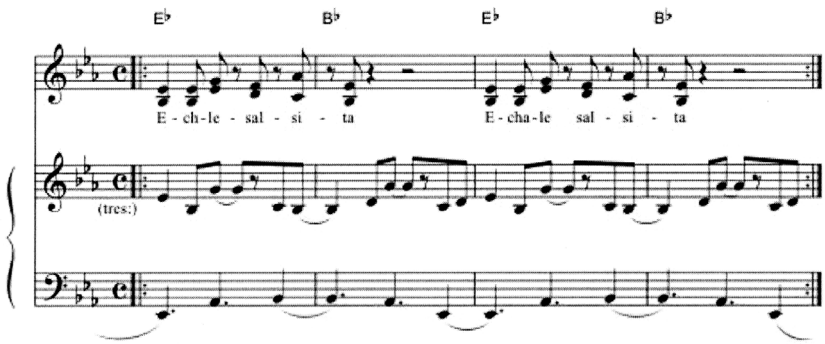
is used at most in a secondary, occasional, and interactive manner (see, e.g., Orozco 1987, Roy 2003, 133).

Of particular importance is the presence of melodic and rhythmic anticipation as a distinctive feature of the son. Although Galán may have exaggerated slightly in saying that there was nothing new about the son aside from its rhythm (1983, 39), Carlos Borbolla (1975) seems justified in arguing that such anticipation is in fact the defining and unique element of the son, although his discussion is in some respects ambiguous (especially in the need to distinguish melodic from rhythmic anticipation).[16] In what could be regarded as the "mature" son of the 1950s on, such rhythms could take the forms shown in Example 9, illustrating anticipation in the bass, the guajeo played on the tres, and the vocal refrain.

EXAMPLE 9. *Anticipation in a typical montuno of a son.*

At issue in the context of this essay are the historical sources of such anticipation. Lest I be accused of attributing everything to the contradanza, I clarify that in my fairly thorough study of 19th-century Cuban contradanzas I have never encountered any particular presence of anticipation, aside from the odd appoggiatura and, perhaps, the opening phrase of "La Santa Tae." Hence it can be said with some certainty that anticipation was not characteristic of that genre. However, one could argue that a kind of rhythmic anticipation is latent in the syncopated habanera bass pattern shown as Example 2b above, in its effective elision of the downbeat. Such elision is even more overt, and the anticipation more implicit, in the bass pattern of "¡Ay! Clara dame tu yema" (ca. 1870), shown as Example 7 above, illustrating a rhythm that would become typical in the danzón and other genres (as pointed out by Evora 1997, 76–77).

On the whole, it seems likely that the early son's anticipation derived from the "proto-son" of Oriente, just as tres patterns of the related genres nengón and changüí of Oriente exhibit similar sorts of anticipation. However, the

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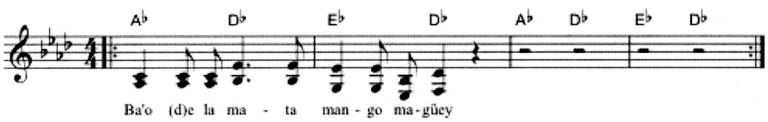
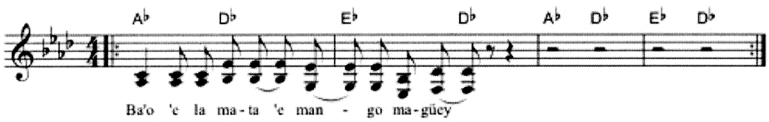
anticipation in the primitive son may have been germinal and occasional rather than pervasive and structural. The old son montuno refrains given by Evora (1997, 275) contain no anticipation, and many of the early (e.g., 1920s) son recordings by groups like the Sexteto Habanero are similarly devoid of anticipation, hence sounding rather "clunky" to the ear accustomed to modern Latin rhythms. While several recordings by this group (with its influential musicians from Santiago) from this period do contain forms of anticipation, it is clear that the characteristic sorts of anticipation shown in Example 9 became pronounced and pervasive features of the son only later, well after the supposed "invasion" from Santiago. Emilio Grenet, in his 1939 *Popular Cuban Music* (xxxvi) describes and presents the anticipated bass, but this pattern did not become standard until at least a decade later. Moreover, it is possible to document how even versions of individual sones came to be rendered with increased anticipation over the years. Example 10 shows the refrain of the son "Debajo de la mata" as recorded by the Sexteto Habanero in 1928 ("*bajo [d]e la mata [d]e mango magüey*" (under the mango magüey bush); the rhythm is unsyncopated and devoid of anticipation. In 1984 I recorded the Sexteto Habanero (with its renewed personnel) in Havana performing this same song in their "neo-traditional" style, exhibiting the sorts of anticipation that had become standard in the son in the decades since 1928, as illustrated in Example 11.

EXAMPLE 10. *Chorus of "Debajo de la mata," son recorded by the Sexteto Habanero in 1928 (from Harlequin HQ CD 53).*

EXAMPLE 11. *Chorus of "Debajo de la mata," son as performed by the Sexteto Habanero in 1984.*

Further, it was in Havana that the forms of anticipation, especially as used in alternating bars, came to be aligned with the two-bar clave pattern, which appears to have been more characteristic of music in Havana and Matanzas than that of Oriente. Collectively, such evidence suggests that the son's characteristic anticipation evolved in Havana from the germination of a "seed" brought from Oriente in the form of lightly anticipated tres and

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vocal patterns fertilized by compatible distinctive syncopations in Havana-based musics, as well as the ambience of a lively and dynamic urban popular music scene.

Among the classic son's formal elements, it remains to consider the use of the tres to play ongoing guajeos, consisting of syncopated variable ostinato patterns providing a sort of loose counterpoint to the vocal melody and playing an important role in the composite rhythm. Evidence suggest that this practice was indeed a special contribution of Oriente musicians. The tres is used in a similar fashion in the Oriente genres changüí, kiribá, and nengón. Although the tres was evidently used elsewhere in Cuba, including the Havana area, during the turn of the century decades, there is no clear evidence that it—or other chordophones like the bandurria, laúd, or tiple—was used in this distinctive fashion outside of Oriente (see, e.g., Eli Rodríguez et al. 1997, 476). It thus seems plausible to attribute the tres and the practice of playing syncopated guajeos to Oriente, perhaps ultimately, as has been suggested, as an atavistic adaptation of Congolese metallophone tradition.

Collectively, these considerations clarify and reinforce the statements made by early informants, and reiterated by some Cuban scholars, that the primordial son brought from Oriente consisted of a simple vocal refrain (estribillo, coro), typically accompanied by bongó and characteristically syncopated and lightly anticipated tres patterns (see, e.g., Giro 1999, 200–201). Such refrains might or might not be interspersed, in an informal manner, with verses. Hence, Muguercia quotes Emiliano Blez Garbey (b. 1879),

> The sones of that era weren't like those of today, that have a more classical character. . . . When I was young they sang "Dame tu gallo blanco María" and the "son de maquina María," [and] "El caimán": "El caimán, ae, ae caimán, el caimán está en el paso, y no me deja pasar." (in Muguercia 1985, 51)

Similarly, while Miguel Matamoros attributed the son to Oriente, he clarified,

> The *sones* of then [1905–1906] consisted of just two or three words which would be repeated all night long, like the *son* that goes "caimán caimán caimán, dónde está el caimán." (in Muguercia 1985, 59)

It is entirely conceivable that such refrain-based entities, rather than germinating in the countryside, derived from urban popular song traditions, including the practice of setting short vocal estribillos to contradanza tunes. What was distinctive about the rural son was the use of that term, the contrapuntal tres accompaniment style, and the subtle anticipation implicit in some tres and vocal patterns.

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Conclusions: Reconstructing Son Prehistory

While Cuban music culture has been remarkably vital since the early 1800s, the early decades of the 20th century were exceptionally dynamic, especially as embodied in the consolidation of the son. Like most music genres, the son did not appear out of a vacuum, but evolved over the course of a few decades as a synthesis of elements brought from Oriente, including the name son, with elements already present or latent in the music of Havana. The confluence of elements and musicians was occasioned by a set of factors. Historians have emphasized the role of the national army, but ultimately more significant may have been general processes of urbanization and especially the completion, in 1899, of the railway, which reduced the length of a Havana-Santiago trip from 10 days at sea to a mere 24 hours (Thomas 1998, 464–66). As musicians from Oriente and elsewhere settled in Havana, the city's thriving entertainment scene became a fertile petri dish for the flourishing of new syncretic musical forms.

The son adopted elements from a variety of contemporary music genres. The classic son's distinctive and defining syncopations—and especially anticipations—appear to have taken form in Havana as elaborations of germinal features brought from Oriente by treseros and soneros. The duet format of its melodies may have come from the guitar-based trova and bolero, while the call-and-response form of the montuno was well entrenched in several genres throughout the island, including Havana. While rumba (especially yambú) was probably the immediate source for the clave pattern and the sticks upon which it was played, 1850s contradanzas illustrate that the clave pattern—along with a two-part "song"-montuno form—had long been a familiar feature of popular song in Havana, and perhaps Santiago. Such contradanzas can be seen to some extent as reflections or indications of features found in popular songs of the era. Evidence suggests that they could also be sources and models for musical elements, as contradanza composers composed catchy refrains or enriched and elaborated extant ones into dance-band format.

Song and contradanza forms structurally similar to the son had existed in Havana, and presumably Santiago, since the 1850s, and the practice of singing simple refrains in call-and-response style existed in various parts of the island, including nearby Pinar de Río. Although we do not know of particular antecedent song genres in the years around 1900, sources since the 1830s document the existence of a series of ephemeral vernacular song and/or dance styles, such as sopimpa, merengue, chin-chin, cariaco, guabina, caringa, dengue, and la ley brava (see, e.g., León 1984, 274), not to mention better-known genres like the guaracha. In Havana, whatever such creole "proto-son" genres existed were presumably subsumed into the son as it consolidated in the early 1900s. In the more provincial Oriente, where music changed more slowly, parallel genres like changüí and kiribá were able to survive, however marginally. The "classic" son also took root and

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thrived in Santiago, enjoying somewhat greater resilience than in Havana, especially as music in the capital gravitated toward horn-based conjuntos and big bands. However, in Santiago that same "traditional" son, rather than evolving directly from local heritage, was in some ways an import from Havana, where it had acquired septet instrumentation, clave-based rhythms, canto-montuno form, and more pronounced and distinctive forms of rhythmic anticipation. Many son refrains proclaimed a supposed origin in Oriente ("Son de Mayarí, Guantánamo" etc.), but such attributions were in some ways misleading and perhaps included an element of nostalgic idealization of eastern Cuba akin to the guajirismo with which many Havana-dwellers celebrated an imagined rural identity.

The youth in Miguel Matamoros's famous son asks his mother where the musicians come from, and is told, "Son de la loma"(They're from the hills). Indeed, they might have been, but by the time Matamoros composed his son, they had picked up quite a few tricks in the city.

Acknowledgments

While accepting full responsibility for the contents of this article, I am grateful to Leonardo Acosta and Robin Moore for their insightful comments. Correspondence with Danilo Orozco was also enlightening.

Notes

1. Ned Sublette persuasively links the *tres* ostinato to repeated patterns played on the Congolese sansa metallophone (2004, 337).

2. This viewpoint is expressed, for example, by Carpentier (1946, 241), Grenet (1939, xxxvi), Blanco (1992, 8–14), Díaz Ayala (1981, 114), Feijóo (1986, 36), Odilio Urfé (in Orovio 1992, 456), and, under their influence, myself (Manuel 2006, 44).

3. Bacardí describes the danza "La chupadera" as "compuesta en son de burla al general Villar" (composed in a son mocking General Villar), though it is unclear whether son here connotes a specific genre or a more general sense of "tune." All translations from the Spanish in this article are by the author.

4. Nengón, for example, consists of a relatively fixed short refrain, ("para tí, nengón, para ti. . ."), duplicated by the tres, which may be interspersed with informal lyric fragments. Taxonomically, it lies somewhere between a genre and a stock tune (see Lapidus 2008, 95–100).

5. These rhythmic patterns do not apply to the roughly 10 percent of contradanzas that are in 6/8 meter, and are of less interest here as they display less overtly creole character.

6. "Cambujá" is reproduced in Lapique (1979, 175) and León (1984, 258). The title, although unfamiliar to my informants, presumably derives from contemporary Cuban (and perhaps Afro-Cuban) slang.

7. Benjamin Lapidus pointed out to me the similarity between the "Cambujá" ostinato and the chorus of the son "Qué pasó" by Miguelito Cuní (on *Miguelito Cuní y El Conjunto Chappotin con sus Estrellas* [1999, Virgin Records 8485612]).

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8. A proper history of clave remains to be written. A 1935 essay by Fernando Ortiz on the subject points out cross-cultural parallels but offers few historical insights. The first explicit Cuban description of it as a musical concept occurs in Grenet (1939, xvii–xviii). Usage of clave is irregular and inconsistent in early-20th-century son and danzón recordings, and may not have become systematic until the 1950s, especially in the music of Arsenio Rodríguez. The now-familiar "rules" of clave—including the notion that the chosen two-three or three-two pattern should be maintained throughout a song—may not have become standard and explicit until around then or even later.

See Lapidus (2008, 29) regarding the absence of clave in changüí. The song "Ide were were" is transcribed in Manuel and Fiol (2007, 53) and Altmann (1988, 242).

9. "Suelta el Cuero," "Cambujá," "Suelta el Peso," and "La Expedición de Marruecos" are reproduced in Lapique (1979, 39, 175, and 183, respectively). "¡Ave María Gallo!" and the ostinato of "El Dedo de Landaluze" are reproduced and discussed in Galán 1973, 362–63 and 1983, 167, respectively. "La Santa Taé" is found in Sanjurjo (1986, 204). See also Mikowsky (1973, 118–19).

10. Carpentier cites only two Santiago contradanzas as examples of the use of the cinquillo: "La Santa Taé" and "La francesita" by Boza. "La francesita" (reproduced in Bacardí 1893, II, 509) is a poor example, as it contains only a single cinquillo, used in passing (resembling, in this respect, two of the three other Santiago contradanzas I have encountered, "La sombra" of 1852 and "La sopimpa" of 1853).

11. The habanera, as debuted in 1841 in Havana, was a medium-tempo, through-composed vocal song set to the "habanera" (or "tango") bass pattern, usually in its less syncopated form shown in Example 2a. Habaneras were not necessarily oriented toward dance, nor did they display any of the vernacular, montuno-like character of the pieces discussed here. Moreover, the habanera was never extensively cultivated in Cuba, enjoying greater popularity internationally (as in Sebastian Yradier's "La paloma") and especially as a choral song form in Spain. Hence the habanera is not strictly relevant to the evolution of the son and the focus of this essay.

12. Goodman's book was translated into Spanish as *Un artista en Cuba* (Havana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1965, republished in 1986). On several occasions the translator rendered Goodman's terms like "ditty" and "song" as son, misleading Muguercia (1971, 78) into thinking that Goodman himself actually used that term, which he did not. Unfortunately, we do not know what terms Cubans used for the songs Goodman describes, nor whether "son" was among them.

13. Villaverde (1991, 236) also cites a popular lyric regarding the danza, using the term *son* in the general sense of "musical sound":

> as the poet says, "At last in the evening, the light would sparkle among the crystals in the ballroom, and one's blood would heat up with the sones of the tropical danza." (Una noche por fin: entre cristales / La luz reverberaba en los salones; / Y la sangre inflamaba con sus sones, / La danza tropical.)

14. Other contradanzas with similarly indicated vocal refrains include "Chichí Pipí Niní" by Lino Coca and "Juan Quiñones" by Enrique Guerrero (reproduced in León 1984, 257, 261) and "Anda que te compren bollos" by Carlos Anillo (reproduced in Lapique 1979, 221). Valenzuela was best known as a danzón composer and bandleader.

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15. See Pasmanick (1997) for discussion of décima use in rumba. See Manuel and Fiol (2007) regarding melody and mode in rumba, and especially the African derivation of modes used in rumba columbia.

16. Readers of Borbolla's article may also be confused by the evident reversal of his two musical examples on p. 154.

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